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THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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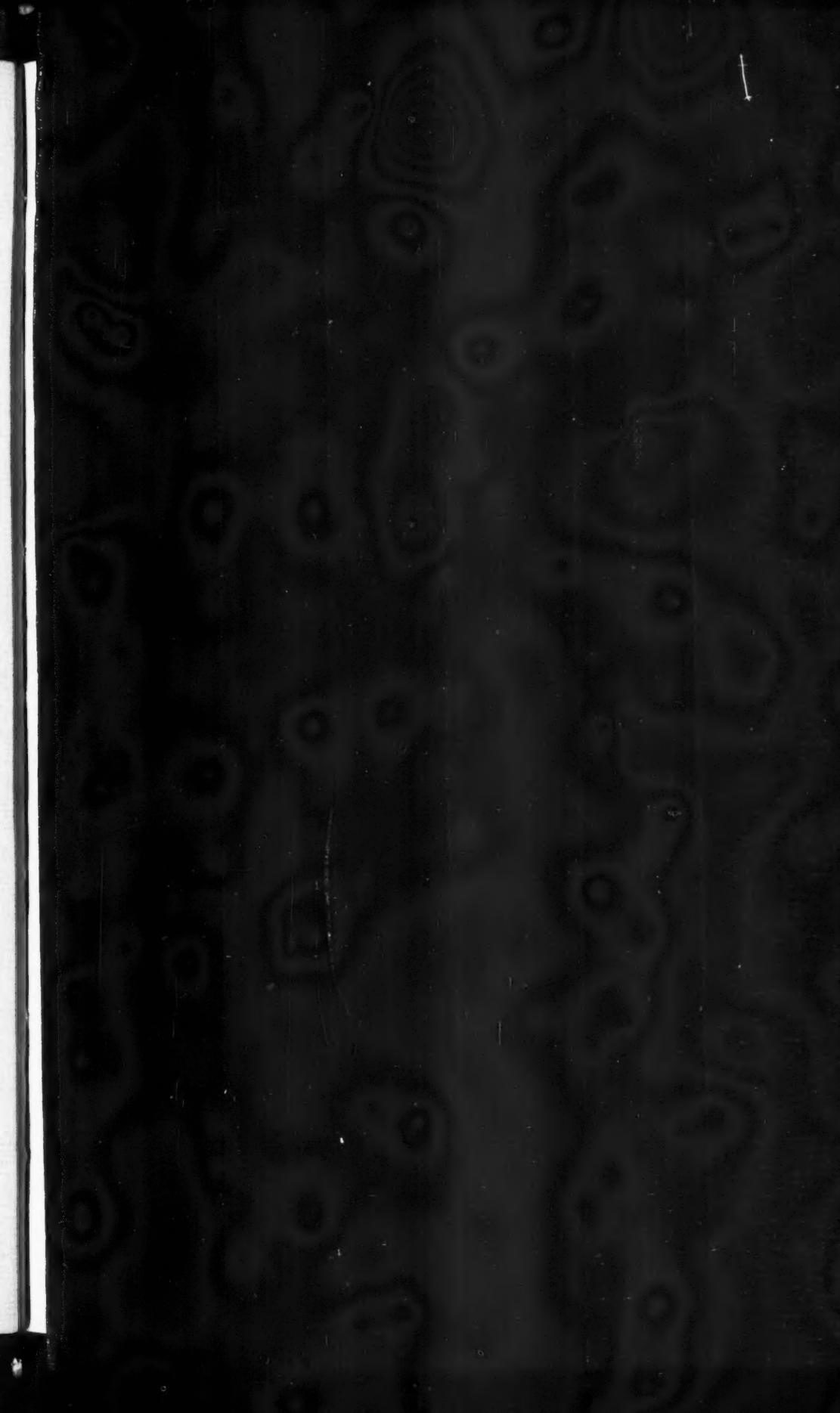
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SOCIAL ART: A COMMUNITY APPROACH

Arthur Katona

I

The problem of art and the people has concerned my wife and me for a number of years. In our respective capacities as painter and sociologist, she and I long have pondered the question: How can the two be brought together? In other words, is it possible for a social art—a people's art, a truly popular art—to develop? Just what may the sociologist, art-minded, and the artist, social-minded, do about it?

Certainly, it appeared to us, art is not a special preserve of aesthetes and dilettantes; it is not to be segregated in museums and galleries for the benefit of a supposedly cultured elite. Nor, on the other hand, is its showing place, as has once been obstreperously stated, the saloons, "dives," and other such hangouts where common folk are purported to congregate. Not that a saloon could not be as fit a place as a gallery to display paintings—a saloon may be a poor man's club, and why should not a poor man's club have works of art for the edification of its members?—but there are other social centers besides saloons; though, as any

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sociologist knows, in many a town community indifference is such that the saloon is the only social center at hand.

It seemed, too, that art should neither be a preoccupation with circles and triangles nor an engrossment with picturesque folk scenes, though both have useful functions: one to open up new techniques of composition and execution, the other to introduce art on the existing comprehension level of popular audiences. Of course, what art is or should be is a matter no one can state specifically. In general terms it may be said, tentatively at least, that art is some sort of creative representation of an aspect of the world that is communicable to others and that enhances the conception of that aspect for both artist and audience. Social art is the most significant kind of art, we believe, and I shall enlarge upon this point of view in due course.

Our first practical attempt to contribute to the working out of the problem of art and the people was the projecting of a series of sociological murals stressing the interracial theme.¹ After completing first in the series, on the arts and sciences, and setting up preliminary designs of the second, on labor, we had to hold up work for an indefinite period due to circumstances beyond our control. We are now active on a second project: the portrayal in water colors of a whole community area which takes in a small town and the countryside around it.

We chose the community project for a number of reasons beside the basic consideration that it was social art. For instance, it would furnish material for a forthcoming mural on community life, and it provided a means by which art and sociology could come together to survey an area of human living. Here right under our nose was a fascinating little world awaiting explora-

¹ See the articles: "Murals for Schools and Colleges," *Design*, XLIV, No. 1 (September 1942), 17-20; "The Sociology Murals," *American Sociological Review*, VIII, No. 1 (February 1943), 87-88; "A New Campus Mural," *Survey Graphic*, XXXII, No. 6 (June 1943), 262; "Art Portrays Democracy in Action," *American Unity*, II, No. 1 (October 1943), 15-16.

tion; close at hand, as in many other fields of endeavor, lay, unnoticed and overlooked, the obvious, rich in interest. We discovered that art and sociology, like many other things, begin at home.

And so we went into backyards and across the street. We went downtown, into the neighborhoods, to the outskirts, on the farms, up the valleys, over roads and bridges. The neighbor's chicken house, the filling station on the next block, the city hall, McCoy's Barber Shop, a square dance at Odd Fellows Hall, a baptism in a roadside creek, Jim's saloon, East Bridge, Clark's Chapel out in the country, these and many other everyday but vital features of community living turned out to be exciting artistic themes. The ordinary became extraordinary as our eyes opened wider to the new world around us, and we felt at times like the poet who wrote, "To see a world in a grain of sand and a heaven in a wild flower."

II

We were with the people, it seemed, socially and artistically. It felt good to be actively working out our philosophy of art. Whether or not we were doing a competent job, here we believed was art in its most vital form: social art; and here was social art on its most intimate level, that of the community.

It began to appear to us that art thus carried on may become what is most significant in the meaning of the word *community*, namely, communal. Art becomes at its functional best a sharing, as is community living at its best; art receives inspiration from the life around it and gives its own gifts to make that life richer and more meaningful. Art now approaches the ideal of the peoples of primitive societies where it was inseparable from the daily life of the community, serving to unify that life into a significant whole. We moderns of course cannot go back to the primitives; but we can socialize art and make it an integrating force in a world basically interdependent and yet tragically split by varieties

of factionalism. We may begin with the local community, rural or urban, and step by step tie it to other communities until we make it a part of a world community; in other words, we may incorporate the local community into the "one world" of the present-day humanists without losing community identity. While integration begins at home, it must not stop there.

It seems to us, then, that art belongs to the people, to the folks at home, and to those all over the world. Art is part and parcel of local and world democracy, and the artist is a key figure in the democratic process. In this process art encompasses a broad range of themes, from the daily life and environment of the home folk to the world stage of events and scenes that affect the lives of people everywhere. Thus the artist becomes an agent in the unification of man with man, and man with nature.

If, as we believe, art belongs to the people, then a paramount duty of the artist is to portray people in their everyday living. We hold that such common scenes as a backyard, a street corner, a saloon, a square dance, a picket line, a church social, are the stuff of life that is raw material for art. The artist may find this stuff of life around him in his own community; he does not have to go to distant places, such as an Alpine lake or the Samoan Islands, to find inspiration. If he is at all receptive, he will discover plenty of inspiration in the lives of people close at hand. Let him explore the home area, and he will be amazed at the rich subject matter opening up all around. All this takes work, of course—genuine art, as any serious artist knows, is hard physical and mental labor—but let the artist get down to hard work. He will be that much closer to the laboring men and women who constitute the vast majority of mankind.

Our point of view must not be confused with regionalism, which in its blatant forms is the art phase of American isolationism, or with genre painting, which more often than not is random depiction of everyday scenes as they strike the artist's

fancy. Both, however, make contributions to the development of social art even when the one is provincial and the other whimsical. Neither tries to represent in any thoroughgoing fashion the surrounding human life in all its abundant variety. Rather they work on that which appeals to them at the moment. This is not to quarrel with their choice but to differentiate them from community artists.

Critics of regionalism are no doubt correct in pointing out its nationalistic, ruralistic, and literalistic tendencies and in berating its antiforeign, antiurban, antimodern, and anti-intellectual attitudes, but when they sneer at common people and common scenes they are just as wrong as those regionalists who jeer at intellectuals and intellectual discourse, and are just as provincial. What could be more gallingly provincial than the haughty esotericism of the intelligentsia who keep aloof from the great world of workaday people?

Those artists and critics who refer disparagingly to everyday scenes as "folksy" and hence inferior thematic material simply betray their aesthetic snobbery. A "folksy" scene after all is a social scene and is as legitimate subject matter for art as any other scene. When the folksy, the cute, the picturesque are made ends in themselves, then does art cease to be significant and become trivial. But to grasp all this, the aesthetic snobs will have to snap out of their ivory-tower isolationism and meet the people. Only then will they discover the meaning of social life and social art.

Furthermore, the critics should bear in mind that if there may be elemental ignorance and superstition in the common man, so may there be polished pretense and obscurantism in the intellectual. And if art may be vulgarized to death by commoners, so may it be refined to death by aesthetes.

And that brings us to abstractionism. It is to be regretted that abstract art, once boldly pioneering and fruitfully experimental, has degenerated into an "ism." From progressive movement to

cult to fad seems to have been its depressing retrogression. Everyone at the moment appears to be climbing on the "bandwagon." "All the smart galleries are showing abstractions," says a painter, "so I guess I'll be painting them this year." Another remarks complacently, "It took me some time to get used to painting abstractions but now I've caught on. And I've gotten nice notices for some of my last compositions." One may note with humor here that the wallpaper and linoleum manufacturers have been doing for years, without "arty" pretensions, what these abstractionists are now laboriously trying to "create."

Such comments would seem to show that the general run of artists is like the general run of any group of mortals: easily picked up and blown hither and yon by the prevailing winds of fashion. Of course, out of the shallow motivations of these artists comes shallow art. There are no profound and abiding convictions here, no warm human feelings, no deep integrity of purpose. And there is little or no social understanding, alas, as evidenced by the insistence of the painter who talked about "the smart galleries" and said that "there's no such thing as social art."

Earlier criticism of the abstractionists maintained that their work was unintelligible and incomunicable; it was too private and amounted to self-indulgence in esoterics. One Rabelaisian wag, it is said, referred to this indulgence as aesthetic masturbation. Today with abstract art in the stage of a growing fad it seems to be no less incomunicable but it has found response in an increasing number of circles—"it's the thing"; though these are more like cliques of mutual-admiration societies than groups of sincere and understanding appreciators. This trend, of course, is socially derived, a product of the Second World War and its aftermath, and is akin to the selfish escapist mood that is more concerned with a pair of nylon stockings than facing up to the world at home and abroad.

It goes without saying that art must be rescued from the bogs of cultism and faddism. The main hope lies in a renewed and expanded social art. Unless social art is made to grow strong and vigorous it will be choked in the abstractionist swamps. To enable it to gain strength, it needs mass support and, once given this support, it will come into its own as the dominant art form of democratic societies. Abstractionism then will be relegated to its place as an esoteric pastime, and abstract art will resume its progressive role as modern innovator and decorator.

We do not wish to bury abstract art but to resurrect it. Our guns are leveled at abstractionism. Abstract art will live and develop, we hope, as a constructive art force. Sincere and creative artists in the abstract field have made and will make important contributions. But at present they are being crowded by the hordes of cultists and faddists who have pushed themselves into the spotlight on the art stage.

If the function of abstract art be innovation and decoration, what then is the function of social art? It seems to us that the function of social art is best expressed by the word "socialization." We mean this: bringing about a community of man and man through a heightened sense of their common life in its various aspects from the basest to the noblest. Social art, in other words, brings human beings closer together in mutual understanding and constructive action.

In our community approach to social art, art, and sociology, which studies group and community life, may come together to mutual advantage. Not only may artist and sociologist learn from and stimulate each other but, as has been said above, they may work together in making a survey of a local area. Where the sociologist provides rational insight into social life the artist furnishes emotional insight. Both are necessary for the understanding of the human world.

Contrary to traditional educators—and unfortunately they still

rule the academic realm—learning is not a matter of the intellect or even principally so; it is just as much a matter of the emotions. This is especially true of social learning. To really understand the relationship of man to man, let us say, for instance, in regard to the problem of prejudice or of exploitation, it is not enough to employ the bookish, intellectual approach. That leaves the learner cold, unmoved, "ignorant." He must have an emotional feel of the problem; he must warm up to it and the people concerned. Not by the head alone do we learn about our fellow men, but by the heart as well. Here is where the arts, virtually barred from academic halls, may come in and do their part.

The intellectualism of the schools is one of the reasons why academic men have been relatively ineffective in influencing the public mind. Propagandists, advertisers, politicians, and publicity men, who know emotions and how to manipulate them, are far more potent educators than the educators. They have made public-opinion management into both art and science and they use arts and artists in any way that suits their main purpose of "gaining friends and influencing people."

We need, then, art in education and education in art. In other words, the arts—drama, music, dance, painting, sculpture, and literature—must be used to liven and strengthen teaching methods, and teaching methods must be used to bring the arts to the public inside and outside the schools. There is no better place to begin than the community.

III

No bright thought suddenly came into our heads to send us off on our community project. The idea came quite gradually. We had been hiking up and down the countryside, enjoying the hills and valleys, noting the poor farms and abandoned mines, and sizing up the town neighborhoods as we passed from our home to the outskirts. My wife had been moved by the misery of a shack in the Negro section and tried to portray its sinister squalor

in a water color. And one Saturday night we had such a rousing good time at a square dance in an out-of-town tavern, and were so exhilarated by the friendly, uproarious spirit of the place where miners and farmers danced, sang, and shouted in a merry let-go that the next morning my wife began a painting of it from memory.

It dawned on me that here was a cross section of human life richly made to order for social art. Why not do the whole community in more or less systematic fashion? So we set about our project, working it up in a sort of community design from the downtown section to the neighborhoods, to the outskirts, to the countryside, and back again. Institutions, events, situations, people—all contributed thematic material.

The Athens, Ohio, region, which is the community under survey, is a "natural" for any artist or sociologist with a social conscience. It is part of a worn-out farming, mining, and timber cutting section, the poorest in the state, and its people are fighting a losing battle against want. The factual and statistical evidence for this has been thoroughly and eloquently marshaled by the sociologist, Irwin V. Shannon.²

There was nothing picturesque, therefore, in the poverty aspects of the lives of these people. A tumble-down house in the Negro neighborhood was a thing of evil and depicted as such. At the same time a shack on the river edge in the low-rent, flood country that bravely put up a front of garden flowers to conceal its grimy boards was portrayed with all due praise for its efforts at beauty.

The backgrounds of some of the paintings were packed with touching human interest. For instance, we found out that a family living one winter in the afore-mentioned wretched dwelling of the Negro section ripped boards from the sides to use as firewood indoors. When my wife was painting the house, a

² See his monograph, *Southeastern Ohio in Depression and War* (Columbus: Ohio Public Health Association and the Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1943).

colored boy walked behind, looked over her shoulder, and exclaimed, "Gosh, that dirty shack is changed into lots more than a dirty shack in your picture." Needless to say, the painter felt complimented.

During the painting of a blackened, makeshift mining tipple that seemed to wobble on its rickety timber legs, a miner came up and proceeded to tell the artist all about the operation of the two-man mine typical of that part of the country where individual miners now picked up the leavings of the big-time operators. He was a self-read man and discoursed with friendliness about mining, science, education, and art. He offered to take her into the mine and show its workings. Not at all unwilling, she put on miner's jacket and cap and into the narrow hillside hole she went, riding in a cart drawn by a Shetland pony. Diagonally down the low, one-track tunnel, they bumped slowly along for 700 feet until they reached the working face. There was no mistake about getting the feel of a coal mine and the miner's life in it—the dankness, muck, cramped quarters, and danger were at hand in all their grim intimacy.

The friendliest people of all were the congregation of a little revivalist church. After the services, which were later incorporated into a painting, every member came to us in good-neighbor fashion and welcomed us into their church and homes. The minister offered to let my wife come into the church at unused hours and sketch the interior.

Many similar cases could be recounted: the farm family that had already heard of the artist and her husband, and brought out their best pitcher and glass and drew up well water to slake our thirst; the woman of the tiny neighborhood church who said that the "fancy-dressed people in the big downtown churches are too snooty to be good Christians"; and so on.

One of our most surprising and gratifying discoveries was that these plain folk were genuinely interested in art. After we became

acquainted, they expressed themselves freely, asking questions, making suggestions, telling us how they or someone they knew painted. Sometimes their critical judgments were keen and showed a deep appreciation of art values, such as the remarks of a farmer and square-dance caller who said, "You know, curves are nicer than straight lines; they bring a picture around better." (He saw rhythmic composition.) And he added, "I don't like loud colors; they're like blowing a horn to get attention. Colors should be like good music, not blasts out of a trumpet."

The heartfelt appreciation of the people we came to know moved us to give paintings to some of them. We delivered the pictures as surprises and were well rewarded when we saw their eyes open wide with pleasure and noted how lovingly they handled the gifts. After all, we thought, if art belongs to the people, what more fitting setting for a painting of "ordinary" folk than an "ordinary" home? So, for example, a square-dance study went into the square-dance caller's dining room and a painting of an old, sooty, floodwater house went into the living room of that house. And on the latter hangs a tale.

One winter evening as we were hiking back from the hills, we heard a cry of help from the porch of the floodwater house. We scurried up, and there was the woman of the house shivering with cold, swaying from foot to foot, and reeking of alcohol. (She worked in town as a charwoman and occasionally got drunk on paydays.) She begged us to help her get inside; she could not open the door. We scrambled around the place trying to force a door or window. My wife suddenly thought that the woman might have the key in her purse and was simply too drunk to get it out. Sure enough, the key was there, and we opened the door and walked the woman in. We groped for matches in the kitchen and lit the kerosene lamp in the living room. And there on the wall out of the gloom appeared our painting as though conjured up by Aladdin's lamp. It almost bowled me over: the

bright flower foreground lighting up the dirty clapboard background under a clean glass cover and bounded by a dark walnut frame. Picture and room seemed to complement each other. As my wife said afterward, in that room the picture was just right.

Our paintings of course have been hung in other places than homes: at the university gallery from time to time, in a photographer's showcase downtown, in the electric company's display window on Main Street, and in Clark's Chapel, a small country church three miles out of town. We have put them up, too, in our living room for informal gatherings.

A problem at first was how to bring the paintings to the community. Plain people just did not come to the university gallery; perhaps they were too much awed by the university atmosphere and felt out of place in any of the halls of learning. The electric company, very community-minded, offered its display space, and for two weeks showed the entire series in successive sections beginning with the downtown group and ending with countryside ones. We were told, to our great pleasure, that the exhibit attracted more interest than any display in years.

The most "community" showing was that in Clark's Chapel, itself the subject of one of the paintings. On a Sunday morning, before preaching services, I held up one by one to a wide-eyed congregation of children, youths, and elders the paintings of the chapel and of country scenes around it. I explained briefly the story behind the composition of each picture, and we had a short discussion afterward in which the children spoke out as well as the grownups. It developed, as with other farm audiences, that the favorite painting was the mailbox study: three mailboxes looming up like sentinels at a crossroads against a background of barbed wire and snowy fields.

IV

The community approach to art in the survey form elaborated above is not of course the only approach. We offer it with the

feeling that it has definite value in its contributions to art education and its implications for the democracy of art. It is, in its own right, social art and serves to further the process of socialization.

We may make, in summary, then, the following statements about this approach. It is a way of making the community art conscious and socially conscious. People take note of painting subjects close to home, heretofore overlooked; they find with pleasure that they and their surroundings are good themes for art, that art belongs to them, too. They become more aware of themselves, their fellows, and the world they live in.

It begins art appreciation at home, where it should begin, and at the comprehension level of the common people who make up most of the human world.

It aids in providing a wide audience for the artist, thereby answering one of his vital needs, and brings artist and audience intimately close.

It helps build culture at the grass roots, on the broadest of foundations, therefore, where it can take hold firmly and develop widely and vigorously. Art becomes popular in the best meaning of the term.

It contributes, then, toward the building of real democracy which in a profound sense is a sharing of culture.

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AGRICULTURAL NOMADS ALONG THE ATLANTIC COAST

Luveta W. Gresham

The mobility of the American people has always been one of this country's main assets. The ability of workers to shift from one area or section of the country to another, remain there perfectly contented, or return to the former place of settlement has been successfully demonstrated from the time of the settlements along the Atlantic Coast to the latter-day defense settlements in Alaska.

However, a changing civilization has caused many changes in our agricultural and industrial patterns. In keeping with this thesis, it seems to be established definitely that the technological improvements and mechanization of farm activities have decreased the demand for farm labor. A new type of agricultural worker, the harvester of seasonal crops, has developed as a result of technology on the land. This worker brings with him many problems that he as an individual must face and the forty-eight states and the Federal Government co-operating together must solve.

The Problem

The problem of migratory workers involves their living conditions in the state of settlement and their living and working conditions in the state of temporary domicile. This problem has many phases, including poor housing; lack of proper sanitation for the health of the workers; long working hours, especially for women and children; and low wages. It also involves the lack of proper educational facilities for children and the youth.

Another important issue arises in the placing of the responsibility for correcting the evils that attend migratory labor. In the many hearings held by the United States Government to inquire into conditions of migrants, all witnesses agreed that there was a

problem. Chairman Tolan and the other representatives of the national government and the state governments agreed that relief for these people is a problem of Federal Government as well as the states. Chairman Tolan stated in addition that the problem should be handled in the same manner as the "free flow of commodities through states." One is a citizen of his own state and of the other forty-seven, too. The representative of the Governor of Virginia took a similar view. He felt that the problem was one for national authority as well as the local counties and the state.

There are many opinions on the causes or the background of seasonal migrations. Former Mayor La Guardia of New York City emphasized the fact that the movement was not new but had been given impetus by two improvements: (1) the more convenient and rapid means of transportation, and (2) technological displacement of labor on the farms. Again, William H. Stauffer, Commissioner of Public Welfare of Virginia, gave several views on why people move from one place to another. He stated that the motivating factors which cause able-bodied workers to migrate arise from economic self-interest. On the other hand, according to Stauffer, the basic cause of seasonal migration is a system of agricultural economy that does not provide a year-round labor market for all individuals whose services are required in the growing and harvesting of crops. In keeping with this viewpoint, Ham states that there was a time when the farm laborer rented a small farm, saved up his money, and purchased a place of his own. He further states that the hired man was a member of the family, eating with them and sharing in their plans. Now, with the changing era, a different picture is screened. There is a vast army of farm laborers "drifting over the country not rooted to the soil, homeless, unemployed a large part of the time, able to provide only the most miserable living conditions for their children and hopeless of ever doing any better." The bulk of this army of farm laborers moves from the Southeast

section of the country. The Southern hearings of the Tolan investigating committee were held in Montgomery, Alabama. At this time it was brought out that the South's contribution to future migration is likely to be large. Dr. Rupert B. Vance pointed out that the need in that area is great and the Southern people are in the habit of moving for better opportunities. He also suggested that the only alternative to greatly increased migration is a more rapid industrial development than exists. Dr. Vance expressed the opinion that more migration would have taken place during the depression but it was retarded by a comparatively lower living standard and the lower educational status of the masses. He further stated that the real difficulty lay in the failure of expansion of economic opportunity to keep pace with population increase.

Tolley, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, suggested that these seasonal workers are the economic and social casualties of the changes which have come to society. The great increase in the number of migratory workers is an indication that employment in other fields is lacking. Deplorable conditions of housing and sanitation, poor health, and poor educational advantages go hand in hand with seasonal employment. Finally, these conditions are problems of the communities, states, and the nation as a whole.

It is interesting to discover who these migrants are and how they move. Katherine Lenroot states that 2,000,000 nomad workers of this country look to agriculture for a living. One third of these are children, who suffer the greatest privations and longest from migrant life. Of this group, New York needs from 10,000 to 20,000 to aid in harvesting its crops. New Jersey employs 9,000 migrant workers: 4,000 Negroes from Florida, Georgia, and North and South Carolina, and 5,000 Italians, chiefly from Philadelphia. In Virginia the estimate is that 5,000 to 6,000 are engaged in harvesting the seasonal crops.

Since one third of these workers are children, it is especially interesting to see what type of farm work the children perform that is normally done by adults.

There are about 150,000 farms with about 17,000,000 acres under cultivation in New York. New York ranks high in the production of such perishables as beans, peas, tomatoes, corn, celery, cherries, strawberries, raspberries, peaches, apples, and other foods that must be carefully harvested. New Jersey, Delaware, and Virginia all have similar crops. Louisiana imports seasonal workers for the strawberry season only. The sugar-cane plantations tend to employ workers in various odd jobs the year round. Each of these crops has a definite period of harvesting.

For example, in Virginia the seasonal work begins with the strawberry season which lasts from four to six weeks. When the strawberry season is over, other crops are ready. This goes on until the harvesting period is over, not only in Virginia but in the cranberry bogs of New Jersey, the small fruit orchards of New York, and in the farms along the northeastern coast as far as Maine.

The living conditions of the migrants are found to be sub-standard and altogether undesirable. During 1944, the Consumer League conducted an investigation into the living, working, and social conditions of the seasonal workers in New York. The study showed that hundreds of families lived in dirt and squalor, were shunned by the people of the community, and were often cheated and relegated to living facilities comparable only to the worst slums. Migrant labor, where family units are employed, is usually recruited by the local growers and canners with or without the help of the United States Employment Service. However, in one New York workers' camp, the Federal Public Housing Authority provides housing facilities for migrant families employed in agriculture.

Stauffer, in discussing the housing conditions on the Eastern

Shore, agreed that housing conditions, as far as the migrants are concerned, are bad. On the other hand, by comparison, ". . . it is no worse than that of the permanent workers in that area." However, in contrast to what Stauffer admits about the Eastern Shore area are the findings on living conditions in the Norfolk truck-farm region. The laborers in this region were housed in one-room shacks, slept on hay or on wooden crates, cooked over campfires, and had no facilities for privacy. Often several families occupied the same room. One shack had three rooms. Each sheltered men, women, and children. In addition to this housing, there is the migrant-labor trailer camp operated by the Federal Public Housing Authority in New York State to house white families from the mountains of Kentucky. Small children were often locked in trailers all day. Six- or seven-year old children were in charge of the young babies. The manager tried to make a playground but there was no one delegated to supervise the play of these children, and they took perverse pleasure in destroying their own play facilities.

However, New York's federal trailer camp is clean and well kept. There is a trailer for each family, with comfortable furniture, heating and cooking stoves, and running water. Each trailer can be converted into two private rooms by folding doors.

In most instances, workers were recruited by agents of the farmers, who usually sent out trucks for the workers, or by padrones or contractors who engaged in the business of furnishing harvester to the farmers. Securing laborers through contract can be done in two ways: (1) the farmers contract for laborers themselves, or (2) they contract for the harvesting of the crops and do not concern themselves about the workers. In the event that the farmer makes his own plans, he may write to Southern workers or wherever he has standing arrangements with groups of workers, who return to his farm every year. In a third instance, laborers may apply for work. These may be floating workers, or they may have made their arrangements in advance.

Another disturbing factor in the seasonal work is the low wages and the lack of contracts between workers and the employers or the agents. It is true, however, that families engaging in the harvesting of crops are not given the protection afforded industrial workers for the simple reason that they do not come under the state's Workmen's Compensation Act. They receive no compensation for injuries unless voluntarily insured by the farmers. Again they are not included under the state's minimum-wage law nor the federal wages-and-hours law. They do not have union protection in their wage promises or their living conditions.

In the matter of their wages, workers are idle sometimes days and weeks because farmers cannot be definite about the ripening period of the harvest. During 1944 there was a shortage of man power and prices tended to soar. Peas and beans brought fifty cents a bushel, while carrots, corn, cabbage, and celery paid fifty cents per hour for women and sixty-five cents an hour for men for harvesting. This was certainly an improvement over thirty-five and forty cents respectively in 1942, and ten and twelve cents in 1937.

It must be stated that the prices in New York were not the average prices paid workers. For example, in Louisiana the wages averaged \$1.50 per day. In other places the prices were more or less than \$1.50 per day. Pickers in the North worked all summer sometimes without actually clearing any money above their expenses. After all, it evidently depends upon ingenuity and the saving habits of the individual workers and family units in regard to the amount of money earned or cleared. Evidence in support of this view may be found in the studies of the New York seasonal workers by Mattesen and Close. In instances where all were paid the same wage, some saved from \$75 to \$300 per season, while others put away nothing and were left stranded.

Another important phase of the problem is the educational facilities of the rural sections and the states in which the workers

are employed. In discussing the Virginia problem, Stauffer stated that there was no problem in Virginia because schools are closed at the time when seasonal crops are being harvested. However, the children employed on the truck farms around Norfolk were retarded because of their employment. "Thirteen per cent of the Negro children had attended less than half and two-thirds had attended less than 70 per cent or more of the term." Furthermore: "The extent of retardation among the children included was greater than that among any other group of rural child workers studied by the Children's Bureau." In a similar manner, in New Jersey, migratory farm workers in 1931 averaged a loss of two months' schooling, and over 60 per cent were retarded. Migratory work extends from March or April to October or November. The local school authorities were not interested in the school attendance of the migrant children because they were not citizens of the state. The New Jersey child-labor law of 1940 provides for a minimum age of twelve years for children employed in agriculture with a maximum of ten hours a day. Also, when schools are in session in the farm districts, no children under sixteen may be employed. The only exemptions are those children who are working on the farms of their parents. This law, however, is not strictly enforced and does not apply to migratory children.

According to Bowman's report, the problem in Pennsylvania has existed mainly as an outgrowth of the cranberry harvest in New Jersey and the canning industry in Maryland. Migratory labor has not created any serious difficulty in the state due to the strict application of the school code requiring strict attendance and the issuance of work permits by school authorities. The enforcement of these two rules almost prohibits the use of children in industries employing migratory labor in Pennsylvania. However, there is a slight flow of labor in the southern part of the state during the harvesting and canning season, but the inspection bureau enforces the state laws as they apply to women

and children. It is interesting to note the states that recognize the educational needs of children in migratory and transient families. The laws of Pennsylvania, California, Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, and the District of Columbia include such clauses. Most of the provisions affecting migratory children have been enacted in recent years as the migrations of families became more acute. However, an analysis of school laws has shown that only a few states have enacted school legislation to compel the attendance of migrant children. On the other hand, a few of the compulsory school laws are sufficiently broad to cover all children in the community. It was shown in the New York study that children from the substandard schools in the South find it difficult to adjust to the standards and routines of the better equipped schools of the industrial North.

It seems illogical that the farm population is expected to train 31 per cent of the nation's children on 9 per cent of the nation's income. Indeed, the lack of educational facilities is not due to unwillingness of the Southern states to support the schools, as was stated by the President's Advisory Council on Education, but to the fact that there is a larger population of very-low-income citizens who are unable to pay higher taxes. Thus the rural youth is handicapped in his effort to get urban employment. If the country schools could include vocational education for industrial employment as well as vocational education for farming, a greater percentage of the rural population could be absorbed in industry. Since there are more children and young people on farms than will be able to earn a living "and live well by farming," part of the educational system should be geared to fit them to earn a living away from the farm.

Consideration should also be given to the health phase of the problem. Stauffer estimated that 4,000 to 6,000 migrants created a serious health problem in two counties of the Eastern Shore, Virginia. The welfare department tried to dispose of any destitute

cases by sending them back to their former homes. The employers are reluctant to assume responsibility for their care. However, in the southern counties of Pennsylvania, sanitary conditions are dangerous. Negro workers are brought in from Baltimore to harvest the crops, and when they are ill they become public charges.

Again, despite New York's excellent health laws, conditions among migrants are deplorable. They are temporary residents, and temporary permits to operate camps are secured. Before the authorities have an opportunity to check, these sites are abandoned.

The Solution to the Problem

When the causes of the migratory problem and the problem itself have been investigated, one's attention is focused on the improvement made or planned. Carter Goodrich is of the opinion that the problem will not be solved by net migration into agriculture. The traditional move has been from agriculture to manufacture, but three-fourths of wage jobs in 1899 and today are found in the two hundred of the three thousand counties in the United States. The government should preserve and encourage mobility, but give it surer purpose and direction. In a similar manner, Smith advocates that methods to improve conditions should expand in two directions: (1) to provide greater opportunities for farm laborers to become tenants and later farm owners, and (2) to improve the welfare of farm laborers while they are laborers.

Vance's solution to the problem is industrialization of the South. According to Vance, migration is a safety valve for the South.

In Tolley's opinion, it is not migration that is undesirable, but the unguided, aimless wandering that has resulted in the present problem of agricultural migration. Tolley also suggests future adjustment through land settlement. The Mississippi Delta and

the Pacific Northwest afford available territory to settle 62,500 families on 80-acre farms, or 125,000 families on 40-acre farms. This gives opportunity for the development of at least 150,000 new farms.

In view of the evidence cited, seasonal migration is a necessity and is highly desirable. However, the problems arising from a lack of guidance and supervision must be eradicated through careful planning of housing, sanitation, transportation, and available work by the national government, states, and local communities. In addition, provision must be made for uniform laws governing wages and hours. Laws controlling the education of migratory children as well as resident children are highly recommended. In poor areas, the Federal Government should supplement the states in caring for the needs of its future citizens.

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NEGRO EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH*

J. D. Messick

Seventeen states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring separate schools for white people and for Negroes. They are: Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Arizona and Kansas have mandates separating children in the elementary schools, and Kansas requires segregation on the secondary level in first-class cities. Surprisingly enough, until about a decade ago there was a law in New York permitting segregation.¹

The ratio of Negroes to the remainder of the population of the South varies in range from 6 per cent in Missouri to 50 per cent in Mississippi. The 9 million Negroes living in those states constitute about 23 per cent of the total population of the states and 81 per cent of all the Negroes living in the United States.

Public schools. According to the United States Bureau of the Census in 1942, there were 11,742,870 children between the ages of five and seventeen in the above Southern states and the District of Columbia. Of these, 8,915,305 were white and 2,827,565 were Negro. In the elementary schools there were 7,350,663 white and 2,386,476 Negro children. In secondary schools there were 1,745,881 or 23 per cent of the white children but only 11.4 per cent of the Negro children between the ages of five and seventeen were in the high schools.

Statistics show that there has been a greatly increased interest in education on the part of Negroes. From 1929 to 1940 the total

* The data used in this article are the latest available in view of intervening war years which have made revised data impossible to secure.

¹ Editorial note, *Journal of Negro Education*, IV (1935), 289-292.

increase in the Negro population in the area studied was 7.2 per cent. The total enrollment in the above ages was enhanced only 6.4 per cent. The enrollment for the elementary grades increased only .2 per cent, but that of secondary pupils jumped 126.1 per cent. The average daily attendance of all Negro students improved 18.7 per cent. The per cent of the school population enrolled among the Negroes was 9.3 per cent better in 1940 than a decade earlier and that of high-school pupils was 114.3 per cent better. There were 33,784 high-school students graduated in 1942.

For the year 1941-1942, including the elementary and high schools, the length of the school year varied from 157 days for white and 138.6 days for Negro children in Alabama to 187.8 days for white and 186.7 days for Negro children in Maryland. The length of school terms has an average increase in all the states of 18.2 per cent, which is from 132 days in 1929 to 156 days in 1940.

The teacher situation has been greatly improved also. In the elementary school there were 16.5 per cent more men and 14.2 per cent more women in 1940 than ten years previously. However, in the high schools the percentage of men increased 139.5 and that of women 112.2.

Colleges. There are 23 state schools for the training of teachers for Negro pupils. Of these, North Carolina has five, and Georgia has three. Some of these were established under the Morrill Act which appropriated money for land-grant colleges for the teaching of agriculture and the industries. The act specified that the fund included Negro as well as white students, and in order to get the money the state had to establish colleges for Negroes. And now all of the Southern states have agricultural and mechanical colleges with normal departments for Negroes.

The first normal school established in the South was the Lincoln Normal University at Marion, Alabama, in 1873. In 1887 the school was moved to Montgomery and the name was changed to the State Normal School for Colored Students. It is the largest

college for the training of Negro teachers in the world. Yet its beginning was very humble. It was started by William Burns Patterson of Scotland, a descendant from the brother of Tommy Burns. He came to this country to work among the Negroes because he was thwarted in going to Africa as a missionary.

In 1941 the total enrollment of undergraduate Negro students in Negro colleges and universities was 34,453 and that of graduate students 1,790. The number for that year in the "white" colleges and universities is not available, but in 1943 there were 1,404 undergraduate and 39 graduate Negro students enrolled in those institutions.

Universities. There are only eleven colleges which offer graduate work for Negroes in the South. They are: Alabama State College; Xavier University in New Orleans; Howard University in Washington, D.C.; Fisk University in Nashville; Atlanta University in Atlanta; Hampton Institute in Hampton, Virginia; the North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham; the University of Missouri; Virginia State College for Negroes in Ettrick; and Prairie View University in Texas.

Only Meharry Medical College, on the campus adjacent to Fisk University in Nashville, and Howard University in Washington prepare students in medicine. Howard University and the North Carolina College for Negroes are the only reputable schools to offer degrees in law to Negroes only.

Seven Southern states provide graduate scholarships. These states are Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Libraries. Libraries constitute a worthy part of an educational program, and this is another area where there is discrimination. In a survey conducted by Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wright in 1935 as related in the article, "County Library Service in the South," public libraries were reported in 13 Southern states, but only 94, or 18 per cent, of these served Negroes.² Forty-eight

² Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1935, pp. 81, 509.

of these were found in Kentucky, Texas, and West Virginia, whose populations are 9 per cent, 15 per cent, and 7 per cent Negro, respectively, and taken together include but 14 per cent of the Negroes in all of the 13 states. North Carolina has 12 libraries serving Negroes, and these bring the total in the 4 of the 13 states to 60 of the 94 public libraries, but they serve only 24 per cent of the total Negro population of the states surveyed. The whole library picture for the South is bad, as attested to by a study reported by Tommie Dora Barker in an article, "Libraries of the South."³ She stated that 66 per cent of the total white and Negro population in the South had no public libraries in their communities.

The Rosenwald Fund has done and is doing a great deal to stimulate library service in 11 counties of 7 Southern states. The money is provided on a matching basis, but most of the service is carried on through the public schools as branch libraries.

A state law in West Virginia requires all libraries receiving public funds to give service to Negroes. And a law in Texas states that proper provision for library service to Negroes be made through branches of the county free library. Thus, it is easily seen why these two states in 1935 provided over one third of the public libraries servicing the Negroes of these 13 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.

Discrimination. For the past few years there has been a gradual closing of the vast differential in the per capita expenditure for the white and Negro child in the Southern area, but there is still a great deal of discrimination. In North Carolina, as in a few other states, single salary schedules for elementary and secondary teachers as well as for white and Negro teachers are in practice.

According to the *Negro Handbook*, the figures for 1940 show that Mississippi spent \$52.01 for each white child and \$7.36 for

³ *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, 1936.

each Negro child. Separate per capita expenditure figures for white and Negro children were not available for Virginia, West Virginia, and the District of Columbia, but of all the other states in the region, Oklahoma showed to the best advantage in the equalization with \$42.22 being expended for each white and \$40.38 for each Negro child.

The South is poor. The South has tremendous handicaps which it can do little about. It has only 15 per cent of the nation's wealth but about 35 per cent of the nation's children. In 1938 the national per capita wealth was \$2,327; in the South it was \$1,500 (this does not include the District of Columbia). The national income per inhabitant was \$480, but that of the seventeen states was only \$339.

Let us look at the picture still more realistically. The South, although highly industrial in certain areas, is still primarily rural. And not only is it rural, but the majority of the people are tenants. In the twelve states of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, the average per cent of tenants in the entire population is 58.4. There are more Negro tenants where the Negro population is greatest, of course, but the revealing fact is that there are more white tenants than Negro tenants in the South, and they are increasing every year according to Charles William Dabney.⁴

This increase in tenancy poses a great problem. It is an obvious fact that to be the most efficient and useful citizen one must have roots so deeply planted that one feels a great deal of security in belonging. Therefore, just so long as the existing situation remains, the South must lag. A few must bear the brunt of the cost of what progress is made. Your answer is that this is true anywhere, and I agree; but the differential is too great for the

⁴ *Universal Education in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936), p. 485.

South to bring its educational advantages abreast of the East regardless of how much it should try.

Mr. Dabney takes a typical case of a white tenant in Alabama and says that a one-plow tenant farmer earns from \$70 to \$80 a year. If he is a two-plow tenant he earns about twice the amount. And from this must come his clothes, groceries, and general expenses. Many landlords permit gardens, which help considerably, but some tenants are so void of vision that they do little about them and, as a result, almost starve to death. This is particularly true among the Negroes.

In the past twenty-five years many Negroes have moved North and to urban areas of the South, but about one half of the total Negro population of the country is still on Southern farms. And when they move to urban areas it does not mean that they are any more able to finance their education than when they were on a farm. Often they are in a worse condition. The same is true of itinerant white people.

Many of the financial leaders say they should not have to bear the burden of educating the Negro and the poor white. You say the Negro and the poor white make his money for him. Granting that, one must admit that the burden is great. The average per capita wealth in the Southern states is about one half of that of the remainder of the country. Only eleven states have a per capita wealth of less than \$2,000 and all of those are in the South, according to a report from the Rosenwald Fund.

Benefit from foundations. The movement to help raise the standard of education of the people in the South began in 1898 at Capon Springs, West Virginia, when thirty-six representatives, white and Negro men from both the North and South, met in response to a request from Dr. Edward Abbott, an Episcopal clergyman of Cambridge, Massachusetts. That was the notable beginning of many similar meetings from which emerged many foundations for the promotion of education. But despite the fact

that the South has benefited from many of the 129 educational foundations in this country and has done much on its own accord, it is still far short of the desired objective as compared with the rest of the country. And too frequently the type of education provided has not been wisely selected for those who will not go beyond the high school.

Misplaced emphasis in education. It is a pretty well determined fact that not more than 10 per cent of the Negro high-school graduates will go to college for some years yet. The same applies to the tenant class of white people. In spite of that fact, almost all of them want a classical high-school education. That is not what is needed, and the attention and interest of the Southern educators will have to be caught by the motivating impulse that inspired Colonel Samuel C. Armstrong, President of Hampton Institute, and his protege, Booker T. Washington who believed that vocational education was the saving factor for the Negro in the South. That belief is becoming more popular with the thinking educators of the country, but in actual practice there seems to be rather slow progress. Very few rural schools, comparatively, have vocational departments such as automobile mechanics, industrial arts, printing, woodworking, and carpentry. And so far as the Negro schools are concerned, only a few have agricultural departments. Many of them do have home-economics departments for the girls, but not even that is universally true. The Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, providing for vocational education, and the Smith-Lever Act which came soon after, providing for farm demonstration, have helped the rural South a great deal to bring the practical to the knowledge of those most in need.

The Penn Normal, Industrial and Agricultural School at St. Helena Island, South Carolina, is a great example of what can be done for rural boys and girls. It was established in 1862 as the first Negro secondary school in the South. It is intensely utilized by the student teachers from the Negro colleges in South Carolina,

and realizing that more schools of that type are needed, there is a movement through the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes to try out vocational experiments in other secondary schools of the South.

Supervision. There was no supervision of Negro schools before 1906. Its inception was rather incidental. Miss Virginia Randolph, a Negro teacher in a rural school in Enrico County, Virginia, was a splendid instructor. And she had an excellent superintendent from 1906 to 1910 in the person of Jackson Davis. When he visited her he always found the school neat and clean and something new added each time. On one visit, when he and she were discussing the Negro-school situation, she asked him if she might visit other Negro schools to help them start some work in industrial arts and show them how to improve their work in general. He agreed and provided a substitute for her every Friday while she visited schools. In that way Negro supervision of schools began in the United States, and in 1944 there were 452 Jeanes supervisors in the elementary schools of the South. Even then in the 150 counties where one third of the Negroes live there were no supervisors, and in 150 other counties where there were only a few Negro teachers there were no Jeanes people. However, the Southern Education Foundation plans to place 150 more in supervision as soon as possible.

Effort to finance education. Probably the fairest basis for judging a state on its educational effort is the amount of the tax dollar expended for education. The average state in the Union spends 40 per cent of all tax collections for education. The average for the Southern states is about 2 per cent more. Only eight states spend more than 50 per cent of their collected taxes for education, New York pays less than 35 per cent of its tax dollar because of its riches. Georgia and Florida pay less than 35 per cent because of their poverty.

Inequalities elsewhere. One does not have to go to the Southern

states to find inequalities of educational opportunities, however. They are all around us. In the state of New Jersey, school tax rates in Bergen County in 1941 ran from 3 cents on the \$100 assessed wealth in Bendix to \$3.94 on the \$100 assessed wealth in Northvale. And yet Bendix received \$140.39 to spend for each of its children while Northvale had only \$121.22 with more than a hundred times the effort. Medford Lakes in New Jersey spent \$304.33 per year for each of its children in 1941, while Berlin Township in Camden County spent only \$56.29 per child. And at that, Berlin Township paid \$3.36 for every \$100 of taxable wealth while Medford Lakes paid only \$1.43. Situations throughout the state are consistently unequal in both costs and provisions.

Is poverty in one part of New Jersey a responsibility of the remainder of the state? I think so. Are economic conditions of the South a responsibility of the nation? I think so. Why do I? The Southern states are still a part of the United States—believe it or not. Many of the people from the South migrate to other sections of the country—as I have done. The South is poor but it sends millions of dollars to other parts of the nation, not only in its trade but also in taxes paid to the Federal Government. North Carolina, for instance, which stands about fifth from the top among states in the nation in this respect, pays more than twenty times what it receives in return.

Recommendation. I can see only one possible solution for an equalization of education opportunity and that is for the Federal Government to take into consideration the per capita wealth and income of the different states and then, where necessary, to provide funds through the state departments of education to bring up the differential to the national average, or to whatever is necessary to assure an adequate program of education commensurate with desirable standards.

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AN ATTEMPT TO MEASURE "CRIBBING" IN OBJECTIVE EXAMINATIONS

James D. Weinland

The following study is an attempt to measure "cribbing" in the regular weekly, objective-answer class quizzes given throughout a semester of the college year to one class of thirty-eight students.

The procedure was as follows: two forms of the quizzes, "A" and "B," were prepared; the A quizzes were for the students in even-numbered seats, the B quizzes for students in the odd-numbered seats. Some of the questions were found in both forms of the quiz, some of the questions were found in only one form, as follows:

TABLE I

Question	Form A	Form B
	1	1
	2	2
	3	3
	4	4
	5	9
	6	10
	7	11
	8	12

The questions were scrambled but there were enough "same" questions in each form so that a reasonably alert and moderately industrious cribber could notice that the person sitting next to him had some of the same questions he did as well as some "different" questions. The students "caught on" to this before long, although nothing was said to them about the arrangement of the questions, and they were administered throughout the semester in the usual way. The instructor did not encourage cribbing; neither did he give any warnings, nor make any comments in regard to copying answers.

The assumptions depended upon were these: (1) Cribbing would be very much easier and hence more frequent on the questions that were the same throughout the whole class. (2) The semester grades should be slightly higher on the easy-to-crib questions, than on the hard-to-crib questions. The same and different questions were matched in difficulty by assembling all questions and assigning them on a chance basis as same questions or different questions. Any irregularity in difficulty should have been averaged out before the semester was over. All questions were of the usual multiple choice or true-false type.

Specifically the procedure was: (1) only questions having the same number of choice answers were used; (2) a like number of same and different questions were used; (3) the right answers were counted and their percentage of the whole was calculated. The results are given below.

TABLE 2

Quiz Number	<i>Same Questions</i>		<i>Different Questions</i>	
	Form A and B	Form A	Form B	Averaged A and B
1	62.50	100.00	100.00	100.00
2	54.16	91.67	88.89	90.28
3	84.70	100.00	91.22	95.61
4	94.18	59.09	93.75	76.42
5	98.51	59.09	96.88	77.99
6	66.17	35.49	89.19	62.34
7	98.51	64.51	83.78	74.15
8	58.43	41.98	83.78	62.88
9	88.41	58.33	100.00	79.17
10	97.10	83.33	87.88	85.61
11	100.00	97.22	90.33	93.78
12	70.15	96.67	54.29	75.48
13	97.01	84.38	97.14	90.76
14	94.04	90.63	80.00	85.33
15	50.00	78.57	92.87	85.72
16	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00
Average	82.12			83.45

The standard error of the difference between the averages is 21. The average percentage correct of same and different questions in the *replies of thirty-eight students in sixteen class quizzes*.

The difference in the averages above is not significant, and though possibly the variability of the data might hide a weak-cribbing effect, a constant, marked cribbing error should be observable.

To check this result the data were examined in another way. Same and different questions were checked again in the answers of three cribbers and three "Honest Abes." These cribbers and noncribbers were picked out by the instructor of the class on the basis of his observations. Although he had made no comments during the semester he had observed as carefully as possible in a more or less casual manner. He felt quite sure some individuals had cribbed and that certain others had not, or had cribbed very little. The comparison of these suspected cribbers and noncribbers in their scores on the same and different questions of six quizzes, for which they were all present, is given below.

TABLE 3 *

	<i>Noncribbers</i> <i>Per Cent Correct</i>	<i>Cribbers</i> <i>Per Cent Correct</i>
'Same questions	85.70	71.75
Different questions	85.70	87.20

* Per cent correct responses of three suspected cribbers and three supposed noncribbers to the same and different questions of six quizzes.

The results of this check of particular students are again negative and leave the study with four possible conclusions.

Conclusions

It is possible to conclude from this study that either:

- A. No cribbing took place.
- B. The amount of cribbing was about equal with the same and different questions.

- C. The variability of the data effectively hides any cribbing effect.
- D. Such cribbing as did take place was not effective in raising grades.

In the opinion of the instructor and some of the students who were interviewed when all the results were in, conclusions *A* and *B* are untenable. It is almost certain that some cribbing took place since a number of the students were willing to admit that they had indulged in a "little" and had observed some more. It is very improbable that conclusion *B* is correct, since to crib on different questions would have required passing notes or signaling. Neither of these advanced techniques was observed by the instructor nor admitted by the interviewees. Conclusion *C* is possible. The data are quite variable and the study cannot be considered conclusive. The described technique is simple, however, and the study should be repeated by other workers and the results checked.

The most probable conclusion appears to be *D*. Some cribbing took place throughout the semester, but was not effective in raising grades. The reason for the ineffectiveness of the cribbing appears to be that when the students knew the answers they wrote them in, when they did not know the answer, they did not know whether the observed answers of their neighbors were right or wrong and did no better by cribbing than they would have done by guessing.

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UNDERSTANDING THE COMMUNITY: COMMUNITY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE TABLES AN ESSENTIAL TOOL

Charles M. Armstrong

Today we think of economics in national terms; yesterday we thought in local terms; and only a little while before that we thought in family terms. When the family was the unit everyone understood that the relationship of production to consumption and distribution and it was so simple that it was no problem. Even when the local community was self-contained, cause-and-effect relationships were generally obvious because the community was in many respects just an overgrown family group. When easy communication and mass production changed our unit for economic thinking to the national level, the causes and the effects were widely separated and the intimacy and understanding of the older family relationship were lost. Our economics could only be understood by experts who drew their knowledge from masses of statistics compiled in impersonal reports. The experts have applied their learning and their patience into translating these reports on the national economy to simple terms that permit the average man to think that he understands or almost understands what is going on.

Meanwhile, the little units have been neglected. These little units, the local communities, are relatively simple and so the experts have spent little time on them. In fact many experts consider them unimportant cogs in the machine that scarcely have any economic identity at all. Masses of statistics are reported about the local communities, such as the amount of money invested in sewers, water works, and public utilities; the assessed valuation of real estate; the population, etc. Little effort has been made to develop statistics that would tell how the community

was performing as an economic unit. Few men know the proportion of the annual income of their home town that is produced and consumed inside the limits of the community. In fact few men even know how the annual income of their community in any given year compares with the previous year. Some have a vague idea that business and employment were better or worse one year than another but they have little idea of how much better. Without such information one cannot think of his home community as a distinct economic entity. A first requirement for a revival of the local community as a unit for economic thinking is the development of the necessary statistical tools so that thinking can be pulled out of its present vacuum.

Recent advances in statistical reporting have made usable estimates of community income and expenditures on the county level possible, at least in New York State, and a long step can now be taken, by utilizing this information, toward restoring the usefulness of the local community in public understanding of economic problems. The new statistics that make this advance possible are the wage reports resulting from the unemployment-insurance law. In New York State these wages earned in covered employment are reported by counties and by industries and, except for agriculture and profits resulting from investments, cover the most variable part of the community income. Reasonably good estimates for agriculture can be made from the voluminous statistics on agricultural production by counties and variations in agricultural prices. No satisfactory method of estimating profits has been found, but these are small enough in most communities to leave the results highly useful even though the profits cannot be estimated satisfactorily.

Now that usable estimates are available it is important that the appropriate governmental units should compile understandable statistical reports on local communities as economic entities. Once such a system of reporting is established refinements will be

developed, and in a few years people will have the tools to think of their local community as an economic unit selling goods to and purchasing goods from other community units.

A suggested form for the community report is given in the tables below. The figures given are for Genesee County, New York. This county includes the small city of Batavia and a rich agricultural area and is the kind of community that can profit greatly from a better understanding of itself as an economic unit.

The report consists of two tables. The first table gives the data on how the people of the community obtain their purchasing power. The second shows where the community spends its purchasing power, in other words what it buys from other communities.

Table 1 is broken into three parts: income of individuals in the community arising from sales or activities outside the community; income of individuals arising from sale of goods or services to other people in the community; and income of individuals resulting from production of goods or services for themselves. The first part, income of individuals arising from sales or activities outside the community (county), is also the total income of the county considered as an economic unit. The second part is the commercial business carried on in the community to meet the local needs and represents the part of the commercial activity of the county that is really under local control and not immediately subject to the variations of the national economy. This is an area in which the local community can plan and make its plans effective. The third section, self-production, is not generally recognized as important because it is not commercialized, but it represents a large part of the activities on which the standard of living of a local community depends.

Looking at the figures for Genesee County, one can see that the big source of county income is the cash coming in as wages paid by employers selling outside the county. This provided

\$6,400,000 out of the \$13,700,000 estimated cash income of the county. The other big item was \$4,200,000 from the sale of agricultural produce. A review of the manufacturing plants of the county shows that they are largely dependent upon the construction and automobile industries. Both of these industries are subject to wide cyclical swings. Dollar income from agriculture is also subject to wide cyclical swings because of the price variations even when volume is stable. Thus the community is the "prince-and-pauper" type so far as income from outside the area is concerned.

TABLE I

ESTIMATED ANNUAL CASH INCOME OF GENESEE COUNTY, 1940

	Total	Per Capita
<i>Estimated Cash Income of County</i>		
Farm produce sold outside the county.....	\$4,200,000	\$94
Wages paid by employers selling outside the county.....	6,400,000	144
Commuters take home, spent in area.....		
Federal and state funds allocated to area.....	800,000	18
State and federal pay rolls.....	1,000,000	23
Unemployment insurance.....	400,000	9
Railroad employees.....	900,000	20
Insurance policies maturing, cashed, etc., in excess of premium payments.....	*	
Net new investments of outside funds.....	*	
Return on investments in outside enterprises.....	*	
<hr/>		
Total estimated income of the county as a whole.....	\$13,700,000	\$308
<i>Estimated Cash Income of Individuals Originating in County</i>		
Farm produce sold and consumed in county..	\$700,000	\$16
Wages, salaries, and profits received by individuals from industries serving the local area	8,500,000	191
Paid out by governmental units.....	900,000	20
Net income from rent †.....	400,000	9

TABLE I—Continued

	Total	Per Capita
Local interest and financial transactions (except rent)	*	
Donations for social organizations	*	
	—	—
Total estimated income from internal cash transactions	\$10,500,000	\$236
	—	—
<i>Home Income (Production)</i>		
Farm produce used on farms	\$400,000	\$9
Home produce (gardens, chickens, cows) other than farm	300,000	7
Home canning (farm and other)	300,000	7
Regular work of homemakers	† 9,500,000	213
Home production by men other than items included above (largely household and automotive repair)	300,000	7
	—	—
Total home income	\$10,800,000	\$243
	—	—
TOTAL INCOME	\$35,000,000	\$787

* Not available.

† Does not include farms or owner-occupied dwellings.

‡ Annual value of homemaking; \$800 each for 11,900 occupied dwelling units.

The cash income of individuals originating in the county is almost as large as the cash income of the community, and this is completely under local control and does not need to vary sharply with the variations of the business cycle. It is true that there is a strong tendency for people to stop using the local services when the outside income decreases. There is no inherent law of nature that requires this relationship, and a community such as Genesee County could maintain its internal activities to a large extent if the people were educated to save money during prosperity and spend money during depression. By such devices the local activities could be insulated from the business cycle.

The home activities should also be stimulated during dull periods. If the citizens are encouraged to repair their homes and to plant gardens during dull periods, the home income could be increased to partially offset the loss of income from outside the community and thereby keep the total community income relatively stable.

TABLE 2

MONEY PAID OUT OF GENESEE COUNTY FOR GOODS SOLD AT RETAIL, 1939

	Total	Per Capita
Food.....	\$2,486,000	\$56
General stores.....	209,000	5
General merchandise.....	1,189,000	27
Apparel.....	741,000	17
Furniture, household, and radio.....	534,000	12
Automobile.....	2,362,000	53
Filling station.....	1,113,000	25
Lumber, and building and hardware materials	1,078,000	24
Eating and drinking.....	670,000	15
Drug stores.....	312,000	7
Other stores.....	1,202,000	27
<hr/>		
Total retail sales at cost to county.....	\$11,896,000	\$268

Table 2 shows that Genesee County spends a large part of its cash income for items whose purchase can be delayed in a time of crises. Purchase of durable goods can be delayed in periods when cash income is low in the county. The largest item of this kind is automobiles, which took \$2,362,000 of the \$11,896,000 of cash expenditure of the county in 1939. Lumber and building and hardware materials with a 1939 expenditure of \$1,113,000 are durable goods but they should not be included in the items to be delayed because they are raw material for local activities and the flow of such raw materials should be maintained. Furniture, household equipment, and radios, however, like automobiles, can

be delayed and this accounts for \$534,000 of cash expenditures. Among the consumer goods, a food-producing county like Genesee could economize on the amount of food purchased outside the community. Thus the county could, if organized to do it, meet a 25 per cent reduction in cash income by reducing its expenditures without appreciably lowering the current living standard of the people of the community.

These two tables take the mystery out of what happens in a local community during the ups and downs of the business cycle and show that much of the loss resulting from them could be eliminated if the individuals in the community knew what was really happening and had the courage to act logically. Moreover they would be invaluable in settling labor-management conflicts because the presentation of the true status of the community would indicate the wage and profit level that would make the community income the greatest. This would give labor and management a common meeting ground.

School Uses of County Data

Data of the type outlined in this article can be used to improve greatly the teaching of modern economic problems at the high-school level. Perhaps the first use would be to make the local community a recognizable economic unit to the student. The second obvious use is to demonstrate the community facts that should be considered in determining a proper local wage rate. One of the most serious labor difficulties in some communities is the lack of understanding on the part of both labor and management of the effect on the community of a change in wage rates. If a community is short of cash income from other communities it should keep its wage rates low so that the other communities would find it an economical place to buy. If interdependence is excessive, *i.e.*, if the community does not do enough work for itself, the community might logically raise its wage rates. Most students graduate from high school today without any adequate

criteria for judging the fairness of wages paid in their home towns.

A third very important fact is the importance of production for use in the family in practically all communities. This fact can be used to make home-economics training seem more significant to the students taking the courses. To the faculty planning the total curriculum, it should point to a re-orientation of school attention. There has been a tendency to overemphasize training for the types of work that bring cash into the community and to underemphasize the training that would encourage one to produce goods for his own use.

As has already been pointed out, an analysis of the data for a particular county will show the probable effect of a national depression on that county. The high-school social-studies program should be so planned that it will include an explanation of the cyclical characteristics of the community. Over a period of years, enough people would come to understand the characteristics so that there would be a good chance of taking wise community measures to minimize losses. Certainly many individuals would organize their lives better if they anticipated the probable cycle of events in their community. For instance, Genesee County, New York, is cyclically unstable. Most of its income comes from agriculture, which has wide price swings, and durable goods manufacture, which is subject to drastic curtailments during depressions. Therefore, the resident of such an area should prepare himself to meet drastic financial curtailment.

Social-studies programs are frequently so general that a pupil does not feel that they are of direct assistance in planning his life. Local statistics of the type proposed in this article provide a new tool for relating social studies to the immediate future life of the student.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COUNTY SUPPORT OF EDUCATION IN GEORGIA AND CERTAIN SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

John W. Morgan

A priori reasoning suggests that the amount of money spent by a county for education would be related to certain socioeconomic factors. Retail sales as a measure of wealth would seem to indicate the ability of a group to support education. Similarly, land values would seem to offer for an agricultural area another criterion. Also, in a section where Negro population plays such an important role as in Georgia, the per cent of Negro population would seem to be significant. Per cent of illiteracy offers some check of the value of education in the thinking of a people. Finally, the economic, social, and cultural importance of tenancy in the Southern regions suggests that this variable might be related to educational support.

The purpose of this study is to test the hypothesis that there is a relationship between educational support and certain socio-economic variables by studying the relationship between the amount of money raised by a county for educational operation per enrolled pupil and the following socioeconomic variables: per capita retail sales; per cent illiteracy; per cent Negro population; land value per acre; and per cent tenancy. Data were obtained for all these variables for eighty-five of the eighty-eight counties of Georgia that were operating their public schools on a county-unit system. The three counties, Bibb, Chatham, and Richmond, which were not included although operating under county-unit systems, could be designated as highly urban and were for this reason excluded from the study in order to minimize the effects of urbanization. Since by 1940 the state had assumed responsibility for a seven-month school term in all counties, 1930 data were used.

Data relating to educational support were obtained from the *Biennial Report of the Department of Education of Georgia* for the years 1930-1932. For the variables, retail sales, illiteracy, Negro population, land value, and tenancy, data from the various volumes of the fifteenth census of the United States were used.

In order to reduce as much as possible the effect of the variations in size of counties, data for each variable were reduced to per capita, per acre, or per cent. The number and names of rural counties that had no local or independent school systems, the amount of school money raised through taxation by each county, and the total pupil enrollment were determined from the *Biennial Report of the Department of Education*. Using the total amount of school money raised by each county as a dividend and the total pupil enrollment as a divisor, educational support was calculated and used as a criterion. The per cent of illiteracy, per cent of Negro population, and value of farm lands and buildings per acre for each county studied were taken directly from the fifteenth census. From this same source, the ratios of tenants to all farm operators and to per capita retail sales were computed.

The means, sigmas, and zero-order correlations were calculated directly from raw data to avoid grouping errors. Griffin's endothetic formulas were used to compute the multiple correlation coefficient and the regression equation. The mean, sigma,

TABLE I

MEANS, SIGMAS, AND VARIABLE NUMBERS FOR SIX SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Variable</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Sigma</i>
Educational support.....	1	4.1728	2.2304	
Retail sales.....	2	96.9823	47.8300	
Illiteracy.....	3	11.2929	4.7180	
Negro population.....	4	40.8423	21.9960	
Land value.....	5	22.0489	8.0334	
Tenancy.....	6	61.9494	18.2045	

and number of each variable are shown in Table 1. In Table 2, the intercorrelations between the six socioeconomic variables are shown.

TABLE 2
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SIX SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

<i>Variable</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>
1	.1160	.1418	-.0793	-.0880	-.4524
2		-.0379	.1319	.2068	-.0427
3			.6924	-.1868	.3923
4				-.1783	.6867
5					.2855

When the multiple correlation coefficient was computed it was found that $R_{1.23456} = .5293$. The regression equation was found to be $\bar{X}_1 = -.1071X_2 - .1532X_3 + .1443X_4 + .1312X_5 - .1373X_6 + 13.1102$ and the standard error of estimate was $\sigma_{1.23456} = 1.8923$.

Within the limits of the data of this study, retail sales, land value, illiteracy, and Negro population have little predictive value in regard to the amount of money that a county will raise in support of education. The coefficient of correlation, .1160, found between educational support and retail sales, and $-.0793$, the coefficient of correlation found between educational support and per cent Negro population, although low, are in the directions that one would expect. The coefficients of correlation, .1418 between educational support and illiteracy, and $-.0880$, between educational support and land value, are low and contrary to what one would expect. The R obtained between educational support and per cent tenancy of $-.4524$ is the only significant correlation obtained between the criterion and the socioeconomic variables used in this study. Therefore, of the variables considered in this study, per cent of tenancy is the best single index of the amount of money that a county will raise in support of education.

A multiple R of six variables was found to be only

$$R_{1.23456} = .5293.$$

Prediction from a multiple R of six variables would therefore be only slightly more reliable than prediction from the coefficient of correlation obtained between educational support and tenancy, but, while this is a positive gain in predictive value, it is doubtful whether this slight increase of .0769 in predictive value is sufficient to warrant the extra work required to compute the regression equation. The need for other variables than Negro population, illiteracy, land value, and retail sales seems to be indicated.

Although these variables do not predict educational support, some implications for future study seem to be indicated by the fact that the two variables usually associated with ability to pay, retail sales and land value have little predictive value while the correlation between per capita educational support and per cent of tenancy was found to be significant. This suggests that there may be normative elements of action in the tenancy complex which would serve to minimize the importance of education and thereby educational support. Further investigation of the attitudes and values associated with tenancy on the part of both landlords and tenants may throw more light on the problem of educational support.

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CHILDREN'S INTERGROUP CONCEPTS AND STEREOTYPES

Rose Zeligs

Myths and legends contribute to the pattern of the child's social-cultural heritage. The contents and images of these myths and legends definitely associated with values highly colored with emotions and feelings are the stereotypes, the bases of prejudice. Knowledge of children's intergroup concepts and stereotypes is needed before they can be given correct patterns of other cultures. The purpose of this report is to present the most common concepts and stereotypes of races and nationalities and to note the trend of those concepts in twelve-year-old children.

The subjects of this study, tested in June 1931, were 200 sixth-grade, twelve-year-old children, with a large percentage of Jewish children, 98 per cent of whom were native-born. More than half their parents were also native-born, and many were of German-Jewish or Russian-Jewish descent. There were also Protestant, white, native-born children and a few Negro children. The average chronological age of the children was twelve years and the average mental age, according to the Otis Group Intelligence Test, was fourteen years and four months. The socioeconomic background, according to the Sims Score Card, was somewhat below "very high." The children attended a Cincinnati suburban public school whose enrollment was approximately 1,600 students in 1931 and somewhat less in 1944.

Other subjects were 174 twelve-year-old children of the same age, grade, school, and background, tested in June 1944, and another 100 similar subjects of the same school, tested in December 1944. The data for both 1944 groups were combined.

The children were given a racial-attitudes test which mentioned 38 races and nationalities in 1931, but with the list somewhat modified and changed to 39 races and nationalities in 1944.

Heading columns opposite the list were the following relationships: cousin, chum, roommate, playmate, neighbor, classmate, and schoolmate. The children were instructed to write the word "yes" for any relationship they were willing to have with any of the races and nationalities listed, and to write "no" if they were unwilling to allow such a relationship. The total number of "yeses" was considered the child's score in friendliness and the percentage of "yeses" for the race or nationality was used as the index of friendliness toward that group.

To obtain the children's concepts and stereotypes, the 39 races and nationalities listed on the test were written on the blackboard. The children were asked to write what they thought to be true, interesting sentences about each one. They were told to give their true feelings, to write quickly, and that spelling and penmanship would not count.

The children were also given association tests by being asked to write the first word or phrase that came into their minds as the tester read each of the races and nationalities listed on the racial-attitudes test. Another method was to have the children write a word or phrase describing the appearance, character, or personality of the race or nationality mentioned.

The ideas expressed in the sentences were tabulated to obtain the children's concepts and stereotypes. The data obtained by use of the association tests were also tabulated to get the children's concepts and stereotypes for each race and nationality mentioned. The reactions were grouped under "favorable," "unfavorable," "neutral," and "do not know" concepts for each race and nationality for 1931 and 1944. The most common and the second most common concepts for each race and nationality were noted.

The total of the most common concepts for each race and nationality comprised 30 per cent of all the concepts expressed by the children in 1931 and 28 per cent of those expressed in 1944. The total for the two most common concepts was 42 per cent in

TABLE I

RANKING OF RACES AND NATIONALITIES ACCORDING TO INDEX OF
FRIENDLINESS BY THE RACIAL-ATTITUDES TEST AND FAVORABLE
CONCEPTS GIVEN ON ASSOCIATION TESTS IN 1931 AND 1944

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>Rank in 1931</i>		<i>Rank in 1944</i>	
	<i>Racial-Attitudes</i> <i>Test</i>	<i>Concepts</i>	<i>Racial-Attitudes</i> <i>Test</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
American	1	1	1	1
Dutch	6	2	14	4
Greek	19	3	17	20
French	4	4	11	10
Norwegian	15	5	18	21
Spanish	16	6	16	15
Italian	21	7	25	24
English	2	8	2	8
Jewish		9	3	6
German	7	10	28	33
Scotch	17	11	20	11
Canadian	8	12	4	7
Swedish	13	13	21	19
American Indian	12	14	13	14
Polish	14	15	19	27
Irish	9	16	10	13
Finnish	31	17	35	23
Mexican	20	18	9	9
Japanese	11	19	36	38
Hungarian	23	20	27	25
Russian	10	21	5	12
Bulgarian	29	22	30	36
Danish	26	23	29	18
Czechoslovakian	28	24	26	22
Negro	34	25	31	28
Bohemian	35	26		
Hindu	33	27	37	32
Filipino	22	28	23	26
Turkish	27	29	24	35
Portuguese	30	30	23	34

TABLE I—Continued

Race or Nationality	Rank in 1931		Rank in 1944	
	Racial-Attitudes	Test	Racial-Attitudes	Test
	Concepts		Concepts	
Syrian	36	31		
Roumanian	25	32	32	31
Serbian	38	33		
Arabian	32	34	34	30
Chinese	24	35	8	17
Armenian	37	36		
French Canadian	18	37	22	29
Mulatto	39	38	39	37
South American			6	16
Hawaiian			7	5
Australian			12	3
Swiss			15	2
Albanian			38	39

1931 and 39 per cent in 1944. The trend shows little change in favorable concepts, a slight increase in neutral ones, and a decrease in unfavorable concepts. The data suggest that many of these twelve-year-old children are definitely absorbing the social pattern of the group in regard to racial concepts and stereotypes.

What are the rankings of races and nationalities according to the index of friendliness obtained by the racial-attitudes test and by favorable concepts given on association tests in 1931 and 1944? Table I gives the ranking of races and nationalities obtained by both methods. In 1931 there were nine cases where a difference of ten or more places in rank were found. The concepts method gave a more favorable ranking than the racial-attitudes test to the Greek, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, and Finnish, while the racial-attitudes test favored the Russian, Chinese, and French Canadian. In 13 cases there were from none to three place differences in the rankings given by the two methods in 1931. In 1944 there were 7 cases where a difference of ten or more rankings

were found between the attitudes-test index and the concepts method. Of these, more favorable rankings by the concepts method were expressed towards the Dutch, Finnish, Danish, and Swiss, while the racial-attitudes test method resulted in better ranking for the Turkish, Portuguese, and South American. The two methods used seem to be reliable ways of getting children's attitudes towards races and nationalities. The data suggest that for American, English, Scottish, American Indian, Dutch, Irish, Czechoslovakian, Negro, Filipino, Portuguese, and Roumanian, a pattern or stereotype has been pretty well set and accepted by these twelve-year-old children.

More favorable attitudes are indicated by rise in rank, from 1931 to 1944, for the Chinese, Russians, Mexicans, French Canadians, and Canadians. Going down in estimation since 1931 are the Germans, Japanese, Italians, Norwegians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Polish, Spanish, French, and Finnish.

Meltzer's (1) findings for 1934 and 1938 are in many cases similar to the ranking found by the concept method in 1944.

What per cent of concepts for each of 38 races and nationalities in 1931 and 39 races and nationalities in 1944, are most common, whether "favorable," "neutral," "unfavorable," and "do not know"? According to Table 2, the per cent of the most common concept varied from 5 to 99 with the highest per cent for "do not know" as the most common concept. For 1931 American heads the list of favorable concepts. Then come Dutch, Greek, French, Norwegian, Spanish, Italian, English, Jewish, and German, ranging from 93 to 46 per cent favorable concepts. At the bottom of the list are Hindu, Filipino, Turkish, Portuguese, Syrian, Roumanian, Serbian, Arabian, Chinese, Armenian, French Canadian, and Mulatto, ranging from 14 to 1 per cent.

TABLE 2
RANK AND PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF CHILDREN'S CONCEPTS, ACCORDING TO "MOST COMMON," "FAVORABLE,"
"NEUTRAL," "UNFAVORABLE," AND "DO NOT KNOW" FOR EACH OF 38 RACES AND NATIONALITIES
IN 1931 AND 39 RACES AND NATIONALITIES IN 1944

	Rank 1931	Rank 1944	<i>Most Common</i>		<i>Per Cent</i>							
			1931	1944	Favorable 1931	Favorable 1944	Neutral 1931	Neutral 1944	Unfavorable 1931	Unfavorable 1944	Do Not Know 1931	Do Not Know 1944
American	1	1	5F*	8F	93	100	7	0	0	0	0	0
Dutch	2	4	21F	16F	92	70	8	27	0	0	0	3
Greek	3	20	19F	13N†	81	24	14	59	0	6	5	11
French	4	10	15F	17F	77	52	16	34	7	6	0	8
Norwegian	5	21	17F	22D‡	69	24	25	50	1	4	5	22
Spanish	6	15	17F	10F	64	44	19	43	15	8	3	5
Italian	7	24	23F	19N	64	19	20	49	12	32	4	0
English	8	8	8F	19N	63	52	32	47	5	1	0	0
Jewish	9	6	16N	17F	52	65	48	34	0	1	0	0
German	10	33	13F	12U§	46	9	23	12	31	79	0	0
Scottish	11	11	25U	21F	46	51	17	30	30	6	7	14
Canadian	12	7	17N	24N	44	56	36	40	7	0	13	4
Swedish	13	19	11F	17N	43	25	44	55	3	3	10	17
American Indian	14	14	34F	15F	43	45	28	21	19	23	10	11
Polish	15	27	16D	31N	32	15	42	68	10	6	16	11
Irish	16	13	18N	12F	31	46	66	40	3	8	0	6
Finnish	17	23	30D	25D	25	21	39	47	6	7	30	25
Mexican	18	9	17U	21F	24	52	32	39	44	9	0	0
Japanese	19	38	11U	19U	23	5	46	16	30	79	0	0
Hungarian	20	25	24D	25D	23	17	41	55	12	3	24	25

Russian	21	12	11U	16F	22	50	47	43	27	0	4	2
Bulgarian	22	36	49D	47D	22	5	16	44	14	4	49	47
Danish	23	18	46D	42D	18	31	34	26	2	1	46	42
Czechoslovakian	24	22	41D	36D	17	22	34	41	8	2	41	35
Negro	25	28	13U	62U	16	15	40	14	42	71	2	0
Bohemian	26		77D		15		3		5		77	
Hindu	27	32	8U	28U	14	10	43	31	35	31	8	28
Filipino	28	26	24N	20N	14	16	50	66	26	13	11	5
Turkish	29	35	15U	46N	14	6	31	85	46	7	9	2
Portuguese	30	34	22D	31D	12	8	62	59	4	2	22	31
Syrian	31		66D		11		13	10	10		66	
Roumanian	32	31	39D	25D	10	10	47	57	5	8	39	25
Serbian	33		74D		7		7		13		74	
Arabian	34	30	31U	22U	6	10	31	36	54	47	10	8
Chinese	35	17	28U	13F	5	37	38	33	57	30	0	0
Armenian	36		89D		4		3		4		89	
French Canadian	37	29	51D	55D	2	12	47	32	0	1	51	55
Mulatto	38	37	88D	93D	1	0	5	2	6	5	88	93
South American		16		12N		42		48		5		5
Hawaiian		5		18F		70		22		5		3
Australian		3		18F		72		23		1		4
Swiss		2		39F		81		14		1		4
Albanian		39		99D		1		0		0		99
<u>Average</u>		30		28		33	33	30	37	16	13	21
											17	

* Favorable. † Neutral. ‡ Do not know. § Unfavorable.

In 1944, American again led the list. Then came Swiss, Australian, Dutch, Hawaiian, Jewish, Canadian, English, Mexican, and French, ranging from 100 to 52 per cent. At the bottom of the list were French Canadian, Arabian, Roumanian, Hindu, German, Portuguese, Turkish, Bulgarian, Mulatto, Japanese, and Albanian, ranging from 12 to 1 per cent favorable responses.

In 1944 there were higher percents of unfavorable concepts for some races and nationalities than in 1931, but fewer people were considered unfavorably. With the exception of the Axis peoples, the Negro, and a few others, the general trend is towards a smaller per cent of unfavorable concepts. The trend shows little change in the races and nationalities marked "do not know."

What are the most common and second most common concepts for each of 38 races and nationalities in 1931 and 39 races and nationalities in 1944? According to Table 3, in 1931 the most common response was "do not know" for Armenian, Mulatto, Bohemian, Serbian, Syrian, French Canadian, Bulgarian, Danish, Czechoslovakian, Portuguese, Roumanian, Finnish, Hungarian, and Polish. In 1944, 12 of these 14 races and nationalities were again marked "do not know."

The commonality of response in most of the unfavorable concepts dealt with some physical characteristics like skin color or shape of eye, in most cases in 1931, and for the Japanese and Negro in 1944. At the later date there were fewer most common physical concepts and more responses dealing with costumes or character qualities. This may mean a trend away from consciousness of racial differences. In many cases the second most common concept given in 1931 was the same as the first one given in 1944 for a race or nationality.

TABLE 3

MOST COMMON AND SECOND MOST COMMON CONCEPT OF CHILDREN IN 1931 AND 1944 FOR EACH OF 39 RACES AND NATIONALITIES

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>1944</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Armenian.....	Do not know them	89		
	A small country	3		
Mulatto.....	Do not know them	88	Do not know them	93
	Half Negro, half white	6	Half Negro, half white	5
Bohemian.....	Do not know them	77		
	Write operas and songs	4		
Serbians.....	Do not know them	74		
	Started world war	9		
Syrians.....	Do not know them	66		
	Great soldiers in olden times	5		
French Canadian.....	Do not know them	51		
	French ancestry	21		
Bulgarian.....	Do not know them	49	Do not know them	47
	On German side in war	11	Bulgaria	10
Danish.....	Do not know them	46	Do not know them	42
	Great sea rovers	9	Danish rolls	8

TABLE 3—Continued

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>1944</i>		<i>Per Cent</i>
			<i>Do not know them</i>	<i>Invaded, ruined</i>	
Czechoslovakian	Do not know them	41	Do not know them	36	
	Did not exist before the war	15	Invaded, ruined	9	
Roumanian	Do not know them	39	Do not know them	25	
	Ruled by King Carol II	14	Oil fields	9	
American Indian	Lived in America before white man	34	Red skin	15	
	Given reservations by United States	10	Original Americans	11	
Arabian	Lived in desert	31	Live in desert	22	
	Trouble with Jews over Palestine	13	Ride camels	9	
Finnish	Do not know them	30	Do not know them	25	
	Used to cold	25	People from Finland	23	
Chinese	Mongolian race	28	Nice, kind, friendly, good	13	
	Eat rice	8	Yellow-skin race	12	
Scottish	Are "tight"	25	Wear plaid kilts or skirts	21	
	Are thrifty	23	Play bagpipes	17	
Filipino	Under United States Government	24	Person from Philippines	20	
	Do not know them	11	Dark skin race	11	
Hungarian	Do not know them	24	Do not know them	25	
	Were united with Austria	12	Hungary	24	

Italian	.....	Love spaghetti	23	Italy	.....	Love spaghetti	19
	Love music		4		Love spaghetti		15
Portuguese	.....	Do not know them	22	Do not know them			31
	Are like Spanish		19	Person from Portugal			15
Dutch	.....	Very clean	21	Wear wooden shoes			16
	Wear wooden shoes		18	Windmills			11
Greeks	.....	Were best sculptors	19	Greece			13
	Believed in gods and goddesses		14	Person from Greece			11
Irish	.....	Wear green	18	I like Irish accent			12
	St. Patrick is their saint		14	Wear green			11
Mexican	.....	Have dark skin	17	Wear sombrero hats			21
	Wear sombrero hats		8	Wear bright colors			15
Canadian	.....	Ruled by England	17	Canada			24
	Our northern neighbors		17	Our northern neighbors			8
Norwegian	.....	Good fishermen	17	Do not know them			22
	Were vikings		14	Norway			9
Spanish	.....	Good dancers	17	Are gay			10
	Like bull-fighting		8	Person from Spain			9

TABLE 3—Continued

<i>Race or Nationality</i>	<i>1931</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>1944</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Jewish	Once lived in Palestine First to believe in one God	16 11	Religious Good, nice, kind	17 13
Polish	Do not know them Have good musicians	16 13	Poland Do not know them	31 11
Turkish . . . . .	. Have dark skin Wears turban	15 11	Man from Turkey Wears turban	46 4
French	Allies of Americans Interesting language	15 8	Invasion D Day Person from France	17 13
German	Work hard Started world war	13 11	Hitler Nazis	12 9
Negro . . . . .	. Were slaves Came from Africa	13 12	Black,brown,colored race Some are nice	62 9
Swedish . . . . .	. Good fishermen Noble race of sailors	11 11	Person from Sweden Do not know them	17 17
Japanese . . . . .	. Have slanting eyes Have yellow skin	11 9	Are yellow Our enemy	19 12
Russian . . . . .	. Under strict, unjust soviet government Had czar	11 11	Good fighters Our allies	9 8

Hindu	.....	Have a dark skin	8	Do not know them	28
English	.....	Want independence	8	Are Indians	12
	.....	Speak as we do	8	Person from England	19
American	.....	Our mother country	6	Speak English language	6
American	.....	Are well educated	7	I am an American	8
	.....	We are Americans	5	Free country	7
South American	.....	Brazil	12		
Hawaiian	.....	Music, songs, dancing	9		
Australian	.....	Ladies wear grass skirts	18		
Swiss	.....	Pretty hula-dancing girls	15		
Albanian	.....	Have many kangaroos	18		
		Person from Australia	12		
		Swiss cheese	39		
		Alps Mountains	10		
		Do not know them	99		
		Bright clothes	1		

A high per cent of most common concepts and similar responses given by the same age children in 1931 and 1944 in many instances suggest that the children's concepts are stereotypes representing the group's culture patterns. For many peoples their most common concept is "do not know." The extent to which the cultural patterns of the group are accepted by the young may be indicated by a consideration of all the concepts the children expressed about each race and nationality (5).

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BOOK REVIEWS

The British People (1746-1946), by G. D. H. COLE AND RAYMOND POSTGATE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, x + 600 pages.

The first edition of this epic study which appeared in 1938 established itself as an important contribution to modern social history. The new edition, corrected throughout and brought up to date with a chapter on the British people during the Second World War, now covers the history and progress of the common people of Great Britain during the past two hundred years. The authors have selected the year 1746 as the year with which to begin their study. In 1746 the English forces routed the Highland clansmen at Culloden and this engagement marked the final defeat of the Jacobites. The defeat meant a great deal more than the mere fact that the Stuart Pretenders had to go "over the waters." It spelled the defeat of the last vestiges of feudalism and the firm entrenchment of nationalism. Moreover, it paved the way for the development of finance capitalism which was so soon to make possible the evolution of modern industry. After a complete survey of the various sections of Great Britain and an evaluation of its industry and its potentialities, the authors trace in great detail the economic and social changes that have altered the culture of the land since the early days of the Industrial Revolution. The volume is intensely interesting and should challenge present-day readers who will find that the British for over two hundred years have been facing some of the problems that still perplex a modern world wedded, at least in Anglo-Saxon countries, to the system of finance-capitalism.

WILLIAM P. SEARS

Modern Attitudes in Psychiatry, by IAGO GALDSTON, JAMES H. WALL, G. CANBY ROBINSON, FRANZ ALEXANDER, WILLIAM C. MENNINGER AND EDWARD WEISS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946, 154 pages.

A New York Academy of Medicine symposium of lectures is here undertaken to outline the evolution of psychiatric concepts from

antiquity to contemporary time. Continuity of material would have been better achieved by a revised sequence, but it is not dull reading.

Galdston, with superior scholarship and humor, condenses beliefs of twenty-five hundred years and warns of misconceptions due to our ignorance of ancient idiom.

Wall, surveying the past fifty years, illustrates such terms as transference with clarity.

The heart of Alexander's discussion is the rise of motivational theory and the effect of recent research in differential cultural patterns of authority, hostility, insecurity, upon psychoanalytic ideas.

Robinson and Weiss handle social-emotional factors in disease and the patient's anxiety toward physical symptoms.

All the contributors emphasize need of blending psychiatric study with medical and surgical training. Large-scale preventive psychiatry is pointed to as a problem in public education of the future.

MIRIAM C. GOULD

Freedom of the Movies, by RUTH A. INGLIS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947, 241 pages.

Hollywood's excesses early brought it into conflict with components of its public. This book is a summary review of this developing conflict and traces the course of censorship, the fortunes of the National Board of Review, and the development within the industry of so-called self-regulation as provided for in the Hays office. There is detailed description of the industry's "production code." This survey is preceded by an overcursory review of the industry's history and economics and is followed by conclusions and recommendations. These provide for constitutional guarantees of freedom of the press to include motion pictures, increasing stress by the industry itself on its role as a civic and informational agency, greater public attention to the film as a social and cultural force, and, finally, public sponsorship of a national advisory board "to review and propose changes, from time to time, in the motion picture production and advertising codes." The book avoids the larger question of Hollywood in the realm of international affairs. One of the studies prepared by the Commission on the Freedom of the Press, sponsored by Henry Luce and the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

C. A. SIEPMANN